1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
NAMNAM

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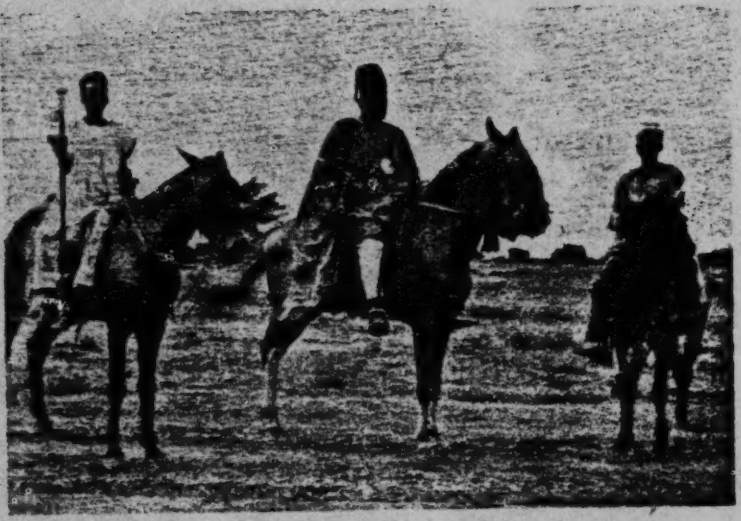

FIG. 79. The Chief of the Namnam

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FIG. 80. A Namnam *Ten'dan'*

[facing p. 368]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
NAMNAM
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FIG. 81. A female *Ten'dan'* and attendants

[facing p. 370]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
NAMNAM

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FIG. 83. Namnam children and shrines

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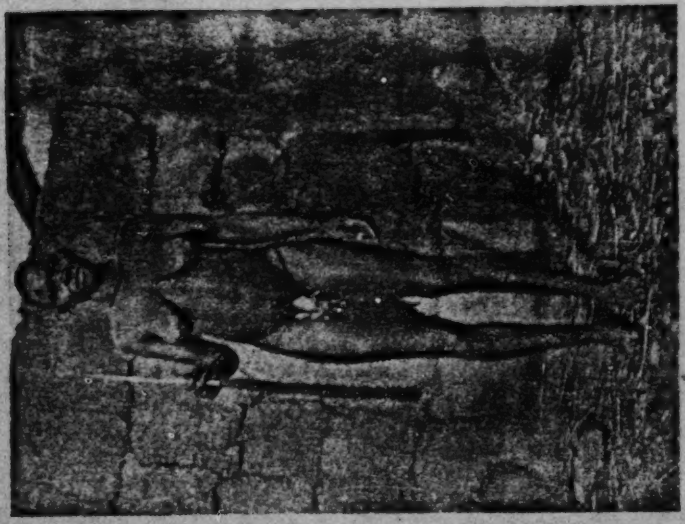

FIG. 82. A Namnam woman

[facing p. 372]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

146 No biological or medical research has hitherto been carried out among
164 the Tallensi or their nearest neighbours. Hence it is impossible to determine how far their physique, efficiency, and standard of health have been affected by their low scale of nutrition. To the lay observer they do not appear to be stunted or to show a high incidence of physical defects. They are fortunate in living outside the sleeping-sickness zone, but the
[657] common endemic diseases of the region are rife among them. The natives have no reliable remedies for these diseases, and the Government dispensary at Zuarungu, the only regular medical service provided for the district, cannot cope with more than a fraction of the sick. From the point of view of physical health the Tallensi of to-day are probably little better off than their fathers were.

291 Native habits of dress and personal hygiene are doubtful assets from
515 the point of view of health. Children go stark naked till adolescence, in the case of boys, and till their first pregnancy in the case of girls. Women go naked except for the perineal band. Men always wear a loin-cloth for the sake of modesty, but it is usually grimy with accumulated dirt. In addition, a man usually wears a goatskin or sheepskin, or a ragged remnant of an old tunic or cloth slung across his back, as his working garb; clothes are worn only on special occasions.

515 Whether or not these customs of dress are injurious, the indifference of the Tallensi to bodily cleanliness cannot be beneficial to their health. By European or Coast African standards, the Tallensi and their neighbours are dirty people. They wash only rarely, especially in the dry season. This is due, in part, to the scarcity of water and to the fact that soap is still an expensive luxury, but also in some measure to native ideas of cleanliness. Tallensi do not object to body dirt. Only young dandies and marriageable girls take pride in a 'clean skin' as a mark of beauty and wash regularly. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most superficial wounds usually fester.

364 The sanitary habits of the natives are equally primitive. A homestead is usually kept fairly clean indoors, but the live-stock yard is inside the homestead, and the accumulation of manure there, as well as the refuse midden just outside the entrance, are the breeding-places of swarms of
[514] flies. Then, also, the natives defecate just outside their homesteads. The stench around a Tale homestead in the rainy season is enough to shake
[240] the hardiest anthropologist. These noisome accompaniments of home-life do not trouble the natives, who look upon animal manure and human excrement as essential fertilizers for their farms.

181 In spite of these hardships and hazards Tallensi set a very high value
183 on their culture and way of life. In his workaday life the native gives an impression of being a steady, sober person with a good grip of himself. He can work hard if necessary, but he can enjoy idleness too. Wasteful and extravagant at times, especially on certain ceremonial occasions, he is normally frugal and abstemious. A keen sense of property and of the value of material goods goes with generosity to kinsfolk and friends. Though he is no stickler for the letter of custom, he attaches great importance to social rights and obligations. Respect for social and genealogical superiors is a strong point of Tale etiquette, but natives are rarely

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

relatives may impel a young man to run away to 'Kumasi', the symbol for everything south of the Black Volta.

Thus one finds that about one man in three has at some time or other in the past two decades visited these, to the Tallensi, still foreign parts. In the settlements near the main roads the dry-season migration of young men may, according to rough estimates made in 1936–7, reach over 10 per cent. of the adult male population. Administrative officers estimate that in 1938–9 about 7 per cent. of the adult male population of Taleland were working abroad with the apparent intention of staying away for a lengthy period. These men bring back small sums of money, ranging from a few shillings to four or five pounds, as well as clothes and other miscellaneous trade goods. Money and clothes[1] are eagerly desired by the Tallensi. These are the most important new wants that have grown up recently as a result of culture contact. Foreign utensils, implements, or tools have hardly entered the productive system of the natives. The foreign ideas and exotic information brought back by the young men arouse curiosity but have made no appreciable impression on the native scheme of values and beliefs, or on their practical knowledge. Labour migrants remain strongly attached to their families and natal settlements, and it is always assumed that they will eventually return. Hitherto, among the Tallensi, very few have been lost to their natal communities; and when they do return, they resume the traditional way of life. Though they are one of the influences modifying the strict letter of custom in minor respects, they are not a disintegrating ferment

[1] Tallensi maintain that there has been a tremendous increase in the amount of clothes worn since the white man opened up the country, and especially since the last war. They point out that nowadays every small boy has a loin-cloth for festive occasions, whereas even twenty years ago a youth only obtained one when he began courting, at the age of 18 or 19. In those days the ordinary man rarely had a cloth or tunic. His only garb was an animal skin. Nowadays every man has at least one cloth to cover himself at night and to wear during the day when he is not working, and many have two or three garments—a cloth and a tunic, for instance—while well-to-do men have considerable wardrobes. All cotton goods are imported. The Mossi cloth used in former days is still a favourite, especially for loin-cloths and caps, and tunics for special wear. The bulk of it is still imported from French territory, but there are some Mossi weavers at Bolaga and Zuarungu who add to the supply. However, quite half if not more of the cotton goods worn by Tallensi is of European origin and the demand is increasing. I once listed all the clothes worn by a number of men and women from one of the most prosperous communities of Taleland as they passed my rest house on the way to the market. The figures are instructive as an indication both of the standard of living of the Tallensi and of the degree to which acculturation in this sphere has progressed. The sample consisted of 62 men and 64 women. Of the men, 35 (56 per cent.) wore cover-cloths of European cotton print; 18 (29 per cent.) wore Mossi cloths; 9 (15 per cent.) wore skins; 8 (13 per cent.) wore khaki shorts, several of them on top of native loin-cloths; the remainder wore native loin-cloths; 19 (30 per cent.) wore some form of European head-gear; 30 (48 per cent.) wore native-made caps. Thus 85 per cent. of these men were clothed, but none of them wholly. Of the women 12 (15 per cent.) wore a piece of cotton print and one wore a Mossi cloth—a very large incidence such as would not be found in most other Tale communities. The rest were nude, except for the perineal band and back-flap. As people dress up specially for market day, these figures are not indicative of everyday habits. The greater conservatism of women suggested by these figures is due in great part to their lack of opportunities for obtaining cash incomes for personal use.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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(*a*) The Unity of all the Talis: The chief tindaanas of all the Talis settlements assemble to perform the rite of 'blowing the whistles' to inaugurate the Golib Festival.

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(*b*) A sacred crocodile at Zubiun crawling out of the water-hole to take a live frog offered to him by a youth of the clan. Note the latter's fearlessness.

[facing p. 160]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE VIII

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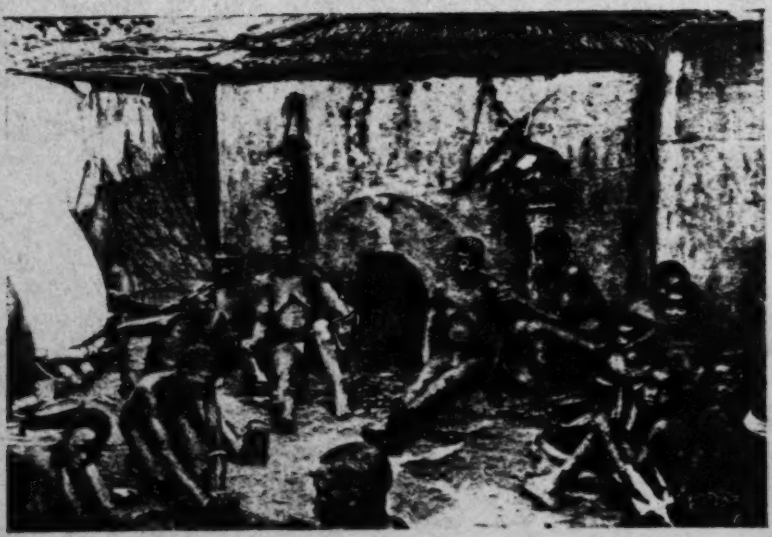

(*a*) The solidarity of clan sisters. During the funeral of the family head clan sisters of the widows, who have married into the same or adjacent clans, come to sit with them and console them.

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(*b*) One of the senior clan-sisters (*pɔŋayabolis*) of the deceased supervises the cooking of the beer for his funeral rites.

[facing p. 161]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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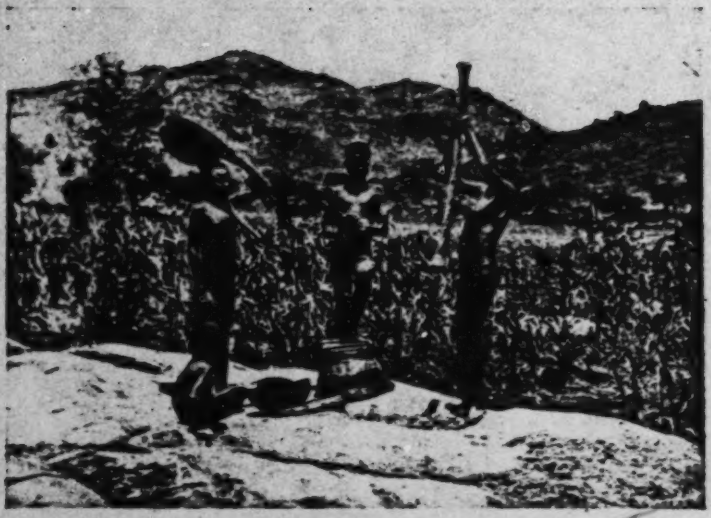

(*a*) A large boulder in the middle of a settlement forms a natural mortar where young girls go to stamp guinea corn.

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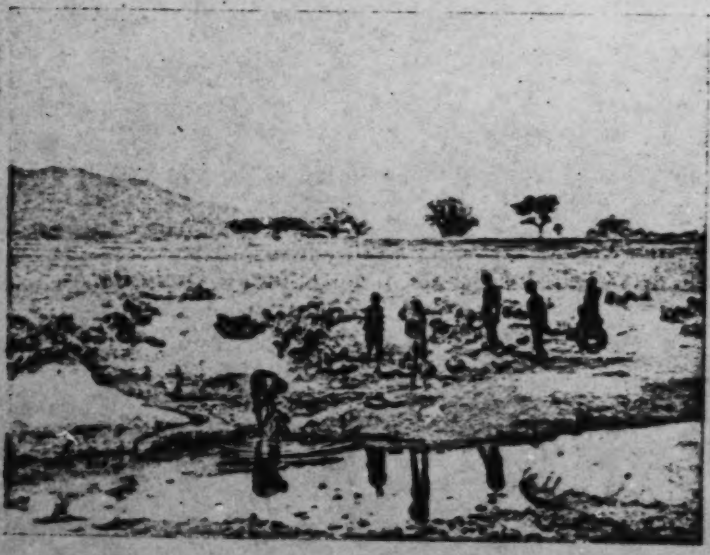

(*b*) Women at a waterhole in the early rainy season. This waterhole serves homesteads within a radius of over a quarter of a mile.

[facing p. 176]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

one who was human (*vor*) becomes a spirit (*kpiim*). For this service, too, the tendaana receives only prescribed portions of the sacrificial animals. If a man wants to break virgin land for cultivation, he requires the consent of the tendaana in whose *tey* the land lies. Unless the tendaana comes to cut the boundaries (*kie*) of the farm, its cultivation will bring nothing but disaster on the farmer. The tendaana's reward is, again, only a portion of the sacrifices and occasional gifts of grain in subsequent years. Lastly, there are the circumstances in which a tendaana must be called upon to make peace between man and the Earth. The weightiest of these is in the case of blood shed in strife, whether the victim dies or not. Atonement sacrifices must be offered by both parties through the tendaana of the *tey* where the blood was shed, and, in clans that have the tendaanaship, through their own tendaanas as well. There are also less heinous sacrileges and even venial sins—such as wearing cloth garments near certain *tɔŋgbana*—for which small atonement sacrifices must be offered through the tendaana; and there are some minor accidents which must be ritually cancelled out by a sacrifice to the Earth. If a house burns down, for example, it is thought of as a quasi-mystical disaster, like a failure of one's crops, and the fire must be ritually 'quenched' by the tendaana, after it has been physically put out.

For all these ritual services, which tendaanas regard both as duties that can be neglected only at peril of life and as rights indicating their status and ritual jurisdiction, no payment is given other than portions of the sacrifices. To people with the standard of living of the Tallensi the value of such perquisites is by no means negligible. It is a common saying that all tendaanas are gluttons and that they are never short of meat. Cynics say that the office of tendaana is coveted for the meat it brings in. We must remember, however, that when we speak of a tendaana here it would be more appropriate to speak of a tendaana and his lineage or clan. For a tendaana can and frequently does send one or more of his clansmen to deputize for him and sometimes even delegates some of his duties to cognates not of his clan; and the rewards of his services must be shared with them and with his close agnates.

Certain taboos of the Earth are obligatory on all tendaanas. Thus it is a taboo for cloth garments to be worn in the vicinity of any of the important *tɔŋgbana* like Doo or of the homesteads of all except a few tendaanas. My clothing was a constant embarrassment to tendaanas even after they had resigned themselves to my European shortcomings. As tendaanas can never lay aside their priestly bonds with the Earth, they may never wear cloth. Instead, they wear dressed skins of domestic or wild ungulates. A tendaana dressed in his finest skins on a solemn occasion has an appearance of hieratic dignity that is most impressive.

There are also, as we have learnt (cf. p. 142), local *tey* taboos obligatory on everybody who lives on that *tey*, and serving to mark it off from other *tes*. Among the commonest are the prohibition against using red ochre (*tendayanze'e*) for plastering the homestead or grass for roofing it, and the taboos against killing certain reptiles. In the observance of these taboos, as in their compliance with all the obligations and observances connected with the Earth, Tallensi are extremely conscientious. In consequence,

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE XII

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(*a*) The head of a medial lineage, Siiyeŋ biis of Tongo, about to sacrifice to the lineage *boyar* on formally taking over the headship of the lineage. The *boyar* is in front of him in the broken pottery vessel.

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(*b*) A sacrifice to the *dugu* (maximal lineage) *boyar* of one of the component maximal lineages of Zubiuŋ. Only elders of the lineage are present.

[facing p. 225]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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(*b*) Loyani, a highly respected junior elder of Zubiun.

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(*a*) Yikpemdaana of Tongo, the *kpeem* of Toŋ-Kuorəg.

[facing p. 240]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

and stationary form of hoe culture in which the volume of output is a direct product of human skill and muscle. The family group which produces the food, shelter, raiment, utensils, and weapons needed for its own subsistence can work only a limited amount of land. Wage labour is only sporadically employed for very short periods and to a negligible extent; twenty or thirty years ago it was almost non-existent. For technical and climatic reasons it is generally impossible for a subsistence unit to produce a regular surplus over current needs. And any surplus produced during any year is used up in meeting social or ritual obligations, in renewing the household's productive and living equipment, or in purchasing small numbers of live-stock destined to be used up, sooner or later, for obtaining wives or discharging social and ritual obligations.

The most valuable durable economic resource of the Tallensi is land; but as no rent, tax, or tribute is paid for the use of land, it would not profit a man to buy land he and his family could not work even in those parts where the sale of land is not a sacrilege. Nor would it be to the advantage of the head of a maximal lineage or clan to have authority over the land of another clan. He received no tax or tribute from his own clansmen, and the idea of exacting any such payments from others would never have occurred to him. In any case he had no means of enforcing such demands.

The scale of differences in wealth is narrow and was narrower in the past when there was no possibility of ob taining money by labour abroad or local trade. The stage has not yet been reached where a family group which has more resources than its neighbours thereby endows its members with permanent economic advantages or acquires, for any of them, special political or social powers and privileges.[1] The economic organization of the Tallensi was entirely, and to a great extent still is, a non-competitive, little differentiated, self-sufficient, stationary, subsistence economy. It acts as a stabilizing factor in the social system. It does not give rise, as yet, to social ties and cleavages cutting across those established by genealogical, local, and ritual principles. Economic incentives and interests did not influence the relations of clans with one another in the past, and did not therefore influence the course or aims of warfare.

That Tale warfare was a function of the segmentary structure of the society and not of political or economic ambitions is even clearer from the records of small-scale fights. It happened, quite often, that clans which were allies in general wars by reason of clanship or other structural ties fought among themselves. Like general wars, these local, interclan fights were kindled by such things as the abduction of a wife, quarrels over bride-price payments, the slaying of a man in a dispute between members of different clans or in a cattle raid, or simply by young men flaunting the corporate unity and independence of their clan in the face of another clan. Once started they followed the usual course of all social activities by setting the lineage system in motion and involving the patri-

[1] Except for a handful of chiefs and the Golibdaana mentioned later; but even in their case the absence of facilities for investing wealth in land or other durable (capital) goods means that their wealth is rapidly dissipated by sons and grandsons.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE XIV

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(a) *Sunɔɔp m-maan yɛla.* A Gbizug elder performs a ritual service for Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra by sewing the sheepskin loin cover for the dead at a funeral.

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(b) Elders representing all the component maximal lineages of Ba'ari assemble for the burial rites of the Ba'at-Sakpar tendaana at his homestead.

[facing p.24]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE XV

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(*a*) A mimic war parade at Ba'ari to inaugurate an elder's funeral.

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(*b*) The widest politico-ritual community includes all the Tallensi. Part of the vast gathering of people from all over Taleland who come to take part in or watch the concluding ceremonies and dances of the Golib Festival. Note the dust cloud raised by the dancers.

[facing p. 256]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE 5

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b. Homeward bound from a visit to her father's house, where she has received a gift of some millet and other foodstuffs

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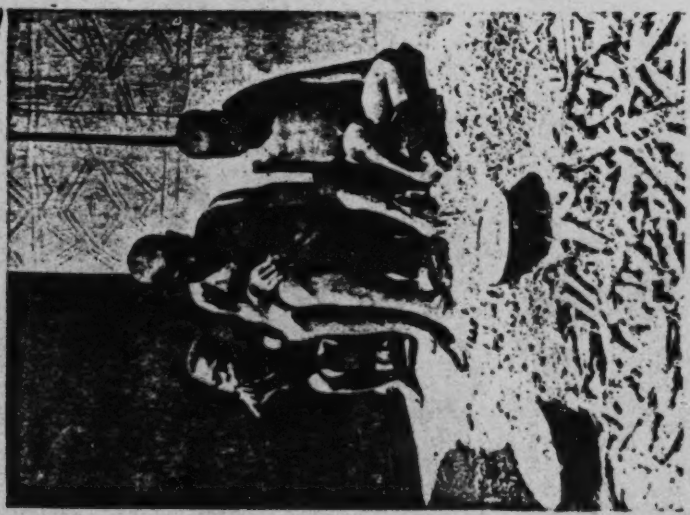

a. A senior wife (*pəyakpeem*) in her *dendəgo* sorting newly harvested millet. With her are one of her daughter's children and the small son of a co-wife

[facing p. 112]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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a. A senior wife takes care of her junior co-wives' infants while they are away at the water-hole

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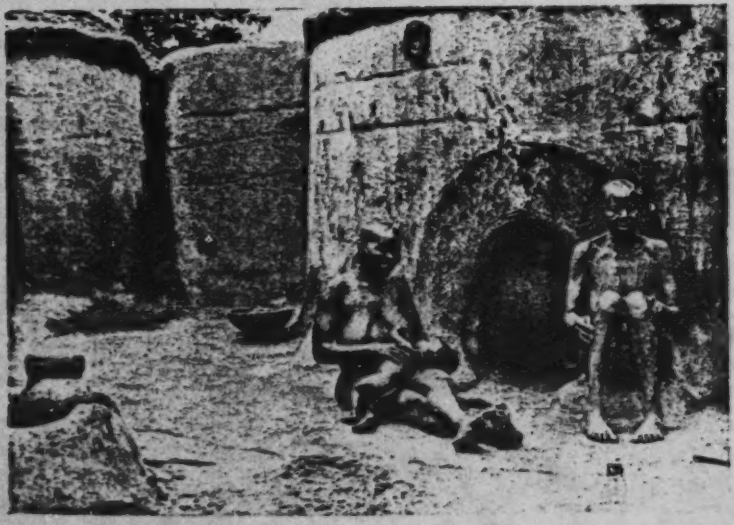

b. A pair of devoted co-wives. The younger woman (with her infant) is about 35, the older about 65, their husband over 70. The older woman has a son of about 45

[facing p. 128]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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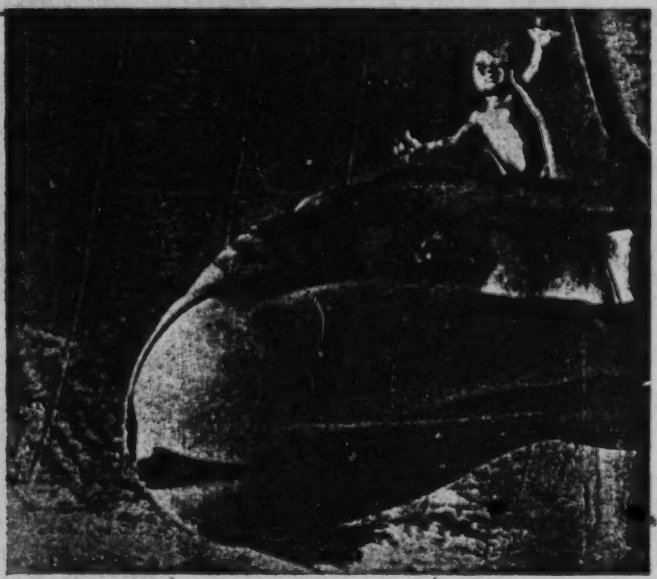

b. The husband's mother and a co-wife of the new mother give her new-born baby its daily bath. The water is so hot that the baby goes rigid with pain

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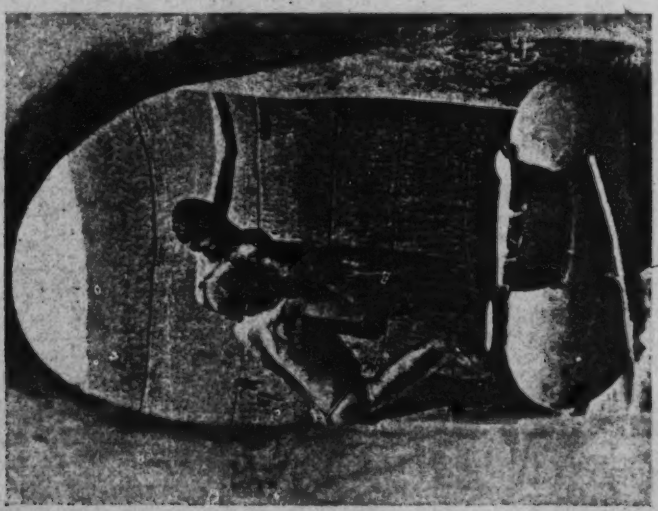

a. The tribulations of motherhood: the daily bath and massage of the mother after childbirth

[facing p. 192]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE 12

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a. A grandfather with his son's children

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b. The effective minimal lineage: the father, his eldest son (working in the distance), his two small sons, and his two grandchildren out on the farm for the day

[facing p.209]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

patrilineal grandparent and grandchild of the same sex, such as is not found between any other kinsfolk, close or distant. Its nearest parallel is the relationship of full siblings. And as a grandchild grows older this aspect of its relations with its grandparent becomes stronger. Nothing delights grandparents so much as to take care of their grandchildren in babyhood or early childhood. Children often sleep with a grandparent, as we have noted. A woman whose father- or mother-in-law is alive always has someone with whom to leave her baby. Joking is one of the ways in which the grandparent shows his or her joy in the child. But as the grandchild grows older and begins to associate on more adult terms with its grandparents, these demonstrations of affection become unnecessary. Occasionally, as mood and situation dictate, a grandfather or grandmother will throw out a jest at a grandchild. Thus I once heard an old man call out to his grandson's wife with a laugh, as she sauntered past, that she ought to get a wider back *voog* (the decorated flap worn by women over the intergluteal fold) as the one she was wearing was immodest. But it is more likely to be the grandchild who occasionally throws a jest at the grandparent.

There is, then, a kind of freedom and equality between grandparents and grandchildren which could not exist between parents and children. A grandparent does not normally discipline a grandchild. A paternal grandmother has no command over her son's children. I have heard a crotchety old grandmother complain of her grandchildren's noisy habits and lack of obedience but have never heard of a grandmother punishing her grandchildren. The gifts given to her by a granddaughter's suitors are brought as a gesture of respect for the senior woman of the house, but she cannot, as a rule, influence her granddaughter's choice. A paternal grandfather often gives an order to a grandchild or administers a scolding. Tallensi, however, think of a grandfather's scolding as something quite different from a father's discipline. They regard it as a friendly correction. If serious disciplinary action against a grandson is necessary, a grandfather leaves it to his son. A grandfather's jural and ritual authority over a grandson or granddaughter follows from his being the head of the joint family, 'owning' all its members. Thus he can override his son in such matters as the marriage of the latter's son or daughter. But if there is a conflict of wills between him and his grandchild in such a matter he will rely on his son to enforce his decision.

I remember the occasion when Maanlɛrəg eloped with his sister's husband's younger sister in defiance of the veto of the elders of the inner lineage. Nyaaŋzum, Maanlɛrəg's own late paternal grandfather's half-brother, as head of the nuclear lineage, stormed and raged but he could do nothing directly. 'Why don't you control your sons?' he shouted at his 'sons' (his late brothers' sons) Tiezien and Bəyaraam, the culprit's 'fathers'. In fact, it is notorious that grandparents spoil their grandchildren, especially their oldest grandchildren, those whose birth makes

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE 16

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a. The members of a segment of a maximal lineage gather at the homestead of the head of the segment to sacrifice to their immediate founding ancestor. 'Sisters' sons' of the segment have the right to be present. The sacrifice has been performed and the goat offered is now being divided up. The two 'sisters' sons' (nearest the camera, wearing caps) sit waiting for their portion of the meat. Note the active interest in the process of cutting up the goat taken by the members of the lineage, most of whom are standing up, by contrast with the passive interest of the 'sisters' sons' on the fringe

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b. Matrilateral kin come to set up a new shrine (the mud cone against the wall, right background) for the grandmother of Pirbaaa (extreme right)

[FACING p. 289]

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

312
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482

1. Bringing home firewood: Mother and daughter

415
252
354

2. A woman in her kitchen (posed)

[facing p. 264]

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PLATE IV

264
291

3. At Breakfast: Father and Children
(The man is eating with his 'youngest' child)

264
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516

4. The host provides a meal for collective labour invited to help build his house

[facing p. 265]

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Plate I

534
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482
857

A young nursemaid, amusing herself and the baby with a *Kinkaŋex* rattle

857

Housekeeping Play. One of the girls combines the duty of looking after an infant with her play. Note the small boy in the party, and the 'utensils'

[facing p.16]

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Plate II

778
857
291
516

A small boy 'sacrificing' to his own 'shrine' (posed)

857
412
291
244

Gleaning groundnuts, one of the ways of learning to use a hoe. The child on the extreme right is a girl

[facing p. 17]

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Like ourselves, the Tallensi recognize that some observances are merely matters of convention, others are matters of conscience, and a great many have elements of both. Their emphasis, however, differs conspicuously from ours. For example, the notion of cruelty to animals as delinquent or reprehensible would never occur to them. Small boys often catch mice or birds and keep them, tied with a strip of strong grass, to play with for days and eventually kill and eat them. It is, indeed, a crude form of nature study, for they learn a great deal about the habits, the anatomy, and physiology of the animals and birds they ostensibly maltreat in this way. They are never checked, and the suggestion that this was bad (the Tallensi have no expression, as far as I am aware, for our notion of cruelty) was received with amused laughter. It is a natural interest of children and not a moral problem; and it does not produce a general attitude of cruelty to animals. Both children and adults often show great affection for domestic dogs, for example.

Many rules of conduct are observed 'because it is befitting' (*de narəmi*)—or because non-conformity is 'unbecoming' (*de pu narəmi*)—i.e. it rouses embarrassment or ridicule or public criticism. Thus when greeting a superior, a man must sit with legs flat, crossed at the calves, bare-headed, eyes lowered, whereas a woman must crouch on all fours or sit with thighs close together and legs tucked under the buttocks. This latter posture in women is a matter of modesty. Up to about 9 or 10 years of age a little girl can sit in any way, legs spread out if she wishes, although from babyhood she has learnt to sit with legs tucked under. As she approaches puberty she will often be admonished 'sit properly' if she does not sit decorously. It is unbecoming for women to eat the domestic fowl, and I have often heard little girls of 9 or 10 boast that they are already refraining from it. A woman goes naked until she is advanced in her first pregnancy.

eyeing me from the security of his mother's lap, was heard to say that he was afraid I might cut off his penis. The Tale infant, in short, appears to be permitted to gratify all its wish impulses without restraint; yet it must do so in a social world over which it has no control, in which it is a weak dependant. Here, I think, still speaking in terms of superficial psychology, is the germ of the later domination of respect for authority in the child's moral development. It seems probable, from these observations, that the deeper psychology of the process is not unlike that which has been recorded by students of our own children, such as Dr. S. Isaacs.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

After that she must wear a perineal band even at night, in the privacy of her own room, for the sake of modesty. Not to do so, *de mara valɔm*, ' is embarrassing ' for her and others. Similarly it is indecorous for a young man, especially if he is married, to go about without a loin cloth. His comrades would scoff at him, womenfolk jeer, and his wife be ashamed. Yet the Tallensi have not the slightest sense of shame about the naked body or any physiological functions, all of which they discuss publicly and openly. Ask any one, child or adult, the sex of an infant and the answer will be to open its legs and expose the genitals with the word ' boy ' or ' girl '. An infant's excretory processes arouse no embarrassment and meet with no attempts at regulation. As we have seen it is expected to learn cleanliness in due course. The child is made to understand that excreting indoors is a nuisance to those who have to keep the house clean. No one would dream of chastising an infant for this misdemeanour. These are all matters of decency and decorum learnt without formal instructions as direct adjustments to the social space, through the influence of the expectation of normal behaviour.

It is otherwise with the morality of property. A thief incurs disgrace and universal opprobrium, and even small children of 6 and 7 express contempt for one. A child that steals, like one who neglects a task, can expect a severe beating if his father is a conscientious citizen. ' Don't let Tii (a boy of about 6) come and see your things,' said Batiignwol, a little girl of 7 or 8, to me one day, ' he 's a thief. He stole his mother's ground-nuts and meat and his father beat him and tied him up.' Theft is immoral as well as criminal. Lying, by contrast, is considered merely foolish and contemptible. It causes annoyance and a liar's comrades distrust him, but one would not punish a child for lying unless it led to serious consequences. Such misdemeanours, nevertheless, go beyond what is merely ' unbecoming '. They are not nice, *a-pu maha*.

Finally there is a type of observance which is a matter of conscience rather than of public approval or reprobation. Many of these have a ritual character and most of them are associated with mystical notions. There are food taboos which must be observed from infancy; there are ritual obligations such as those connected with mourning, which a person may escape till he reaches adulthood, but

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Recreational Play: *Kwabon* (posed)

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A wrestling match—with an eye on the goat lest it wander into the growing crops

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Plate IV

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Building Play. In the background a newly built room. On the right of the group a big boy demonstrating to a small boy. Behind them part of a 'house' they have finished. On the left, girls making the swish and explaining the process to the ethnographer's wife.

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Learning Marksmanship. Note how intently the two smaller boys, who have only recently acquired real bows, are watching the technique of their older companion

[facing p. 49]